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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

19 November 1957

DRAFT MEMO FOR THE DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE

SUBJECT: Possible Soviet Reactions Prior to and During the NATO
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GENERAL SOVIET ATTITUDE

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1. Recognizing that the December NATO meeting is an extraordinary attempt to overcome the crisis of confidence within NATO, the USSR will be anxious to forestall this outcome. In particular the USSR has already shown great concern over prospective US allocation of nuclear weapons and missiles to NATO allies. Therefore, the USSR will almost certainly seek in some manner to offset the impact of the NATO meeting, though it is hard to be precise on the nature and timing of such moves.

2. Both before and during the NATO meeting the Kremlin will probably employ both intimidation and conciliation. Soviet propaganda will picture the session as further evidence of the aggressive designs of the NATO powers, in contrast to Soviet desires for peaceful co-existence. The USSR will probably seek to buttress this line and take the edge off the NATO session by one or more ostensibly constructive proposals for an East-West summit meeting, or on disarmament, etc. At the same time, the Kremlin will see no inconsistency in bluntly warning that the USSR's technological progress makes NATO useless, and that the USSR will react strongly to any nuclear strengthening of NATO.

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3. But the Kremlin's apparent confidence in its own current "position of strength" is such that we do not see it as likely to offer any "concessions," in such fields as disarmament or German reunification. On the other hand, we doubt that the USSR will seek to counter the NATO meeting by any blatant pressures tactics such as extensive harassment of Berlin, lest these prove counterproductive.

POSSIBLE SPECIFIC SOVIET ACTIONS

4. Within the above general framework, we suggest the following specific moves which the USSR might make:

a. Khrushchev may well try to steal the thunder from the NATO session by following up on his 6 November call for a new East-West Summit Conference, perhaps with more than the Big Four present. There are any number of topics to which the USSR could key such a call, including disarmament, Germany, the Middle East, a European security treaty and arms limitation zone, etc. Alternatively the USSR could revive any of its proposals on these subjects in notes to the NATO powers.

b. In order to contrast its peaceful intentions with those of the West, the USSR might announce further unilateral force reductions.

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c. On the other hand, Moscow may revise its harsh threats of last January-April against any NATO and other US allies permitting stationing of nuclear weapons and missiles on their soil. It will be especially sensitive to any provision of nuclear weapons to the Germans. As Khrushchev said to Shapiro, the USSR could now easily "dispose of" such bases in another war.

d. The USSR may also announce or actually undertake the stationing of its own nuclear weapons in Eastern Europe, as a countermove (this was threatened by Moscow radio on 13 November). Conceivably it would call a Warsaw Pact meeting for this purpose.

e. Further intimidatory revelations of Soviet advanced weapons capabilities, such as new satellite launchings or missile tests, may occur.

f. Moscow might renew its approaches to the European Socialist parties to encourage them to oppose stationing of US nuclear weapons in Europe.

g. It is possible, though unlikely, that the Bloc would further develop the Baltic "sea of peace" theme or otherwise attempt to encourage neutralist tendencies in Denmark and Norway.

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h. Before, during, and after the NATO session, the USSR will of course be alert to exploit any divisions among the NATO powers, as over the current Tunisian issue; at the least it will take propaganda advantage of them. Among other things the USSR will exploit gnawing French and other suspicions that the UK seeks to retain a preferred position vis-a-vis the US and that it really opposes continental supra-national institutions.

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